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Reverting to the oldest instance noted of the conjunctive use—the *D'Alexandre vos parlerai* of Chrestien—it is of interest to ask, upon what analogy, if any, was the pronoun admitted to the new position? I am inclined to believe that what one may call the logical justification for the innovation—namely, that the major part of the attention, formerly accorded exclusively to the person spoken to, is now given to the object spoken of, so that the pronoun retreats to the subordinate position—is not enough in itself to motive the change. We are rather in presence of one of the numerous functional changes due to analogy, and the analogy in question seems to be that of the related verbs *mostrer*, *conter*, *deviser* and especially *dire*, all of which are construed regularly with a conjunctive pronoun in the oldest French. *Dire*, for example, among its other Latin meanings, kept that of 'relate, tell.' 'To speak of something' and 'to tell of something' are obviously closely related ideas. Thus Wace (*Rou*, II, 1) says: *A Rou sumes venu e de Rou vos dirum*; Villehardouin, § 1: *Et cil Folques dont je vos di*,¹⁴ and so commonly in Old French. On the basis of these, it was easy to pass to the common formula *dont je vous parle*, at a time when both *dire* and *parler* came to be used by authors in the figurative sense.

One might be tempted to see another precedent in the frequent use with *parler* of the exclusively conjunctive *y*, as: *La charitez . . . me destreint de parler a vos et molt plus sovent j parleroie, si non estoient plusor afaire, quj me detiennent*. Sermons of St. Bernard (quoted in SUCHIER und BIRCH-HIRSCHFELD, *Geschichte der Französischen Litteratur*, p. 146). So *Rou*, II, 2311, and elsewhere very often (DIEZ, *Grammatik*,⁵ pp. 802, 854). But to invoke this analogy is inadvisable, seeing that *y* has always been used, for example, with *penser à*, *venir à*, without having exercised any appreciable influence on *penser à lui*, *venir à lui*.

T. ATKINSON JENKINS.

University of Chicago.

Dürfen AND ITS COGNATES.

NHG. *dürfen* from OHG. *durfan* 'Mangel haben, entbehren, bedürfen, nötig haben' is referred by Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v., to a root *trp-* 'entbehren, mangeln.' This meaning is plainly seen in the other related words in Germanic. In view of this fact, it seems somewhat strange that Kluge, in Paul's Grundriss 440, should connect OHG. *durfan* with Skt. *trpnōmi* 'sich sättigen, befriedigt werden,' with which are related Gk. *τέρω* 'satisfy,' Goth. *brastjan* 'trösten,' Lith. *tarpsti*, *tarpti* 'gedeihen, zunehmen,' OPruss. *enterpo* 'es nützt' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* 116, *Et. Wb. der got. Spr.* 149, 152; Berneker, *Die preuss. Spr.* 326).

If these two groups of words are related they show the opposite development of meaning, 'lack, want, be poor' and 'be satisfied, thrive, increase.' How Kluge connects these meanings I do not know. As they stand, they apparently have nothing in common, and the words that are necessary to supply the connecting links are not furnished by Kluge. The comparison of *dürfen* and *trpnōmi* looks like a shrewd guess. That it is a correct guess I shall attempt to prove.

When two words with apparently the same base have significations that are so different as these words, they are usually declared unrelated. Now it is true that two bases might be identical and yet be entirely unrelated; for they might be composed of unrelated elements or might have sprung up independently in different countries and at different times. But words with diametrically opposite significations are often easily combined, and synonymous words are not infrequently from entirely different meanings.

The reason that difference in meaning is so often thought to be a bar to connecting words is that the etymologist can see no way of deriving one meaning from the other. He assumes that one word or the other has preserved the original meaning when the fact may be that each has wandered far from its starting point. The way to connect such words, therefore, is to trace each back to the point of divergence. For example, suppose we find in three different languages apparently identical words with the three distinct

¹⁴ The figurative sense of *parler* is, however, not unknown to this author. Cf. § 8: *dont li livres ne parole mie*.

meanings 'attractive'; 'greedy'; 'slow.' It would be impossible to derive one meaning from another, and some investigators would straightway declare that the words were unrelated. But when we find the three meanings united in the one Gk. word *δλκός*, it is easy to refer them to the primary meaning 'drawing, dragging.'

A priori, therefore, there is no objection to combining *dürfen* and *τρῆνῶμι* or any other word that may have the same base. But to make the combination probable, it is necessary to find a common meaning as a point of divergence from which the various significations could develop. In the same way we refer various related forms to a common base.

The common base of these words is *terep-* (cf. Hirt, *Idg. Abl.* 586), and the common meaning is 'press, rub.' From 'pressed, rubbed' came 'worn, worn out, exhausted,' whence 'wanting, lacking, needy, poor.' Nearest related to *dürfen*, *bedürfen*, *darben*, therefore, is MHG. *verderben* 'zu nichte werden, zu Schaden kommen, umkommen,' MLG. *derven* 'einschrumpfen, vergehen, verderben.' Germ. *barf*, therefore, is a preterit-present meaning primarily 'I am worn out, exhausted,' hence 'I lack, need, am needy,' and the pres. of this verb is preserved in MHG. *verderben*. This, with a slight change in developing the meaning, is exactly the explanation given by Schade, *Wb.* 100. Paul, *Wb.* 100, also connects *dürfen* and *verderben*.

MHG. (*ver-*)*derben* comes from a pre-Germ. **terpó-* 'be worn away, crumble,' and is closely related to Lett. *trepēt*, *trapēt* 'verwittern,' *trepans*, *trapains* 'morsch,' Lith. *trapūs* 'spröde, bröcklig,' *tīrpti* 'zerfliessen, schmelzen.' The same base used transitively gives 'press, wear out, annoy,' etc., in Pol. *trapić* 'quälen,' refl. 'sich grämen,' OE. *þrafian* 'urge, drängen; rebuke, schelten,' *þraeft* 'quarrel,' ON, *þrefa* 'wrangle, dispute.'

Used in its literal sense the base gives words for 'press, trample,' as in OE. *þryccan* 'press, trample.' So here belong Gk. *τραπέω* 'tread grapes,' OPruss. *trapt* 'treten,' Lith. *trep̃ti* 'stampfen,' *trem̃pti* 'auf etwas scharf treten,' *trap̃šēti* 'so scharf treten, dass die Tritte zu hören sind,' ChSl. *trepāti* 'palpare.'

All these words are easily derivable from the base *terep-* 'rub, press,' which is the same as *terep-* 'turn, twist' in Lat. *trepo*, *trepidus*, Gk.

τρέπω 'turn, put to flight, drive,' *ἐντρέπω* 'turn about, shame, reprove,' Skt. *trāpatē* 'schämt sich, wird verlegen.'

This brings us to the base *tere-* 'turn, twist; rub, press, etc.' in OHG. *drāen* 'drehen,' Gk. *τεῖρω* 'rub, rub away; wear out, distress, afflict,' Lat. *tero* 'rub, rub to pieces, grind; rub away, wear away,' etc.

That *terep-* 'want, lack, need' is from *terep-* 'press, rub, wear away,' is probable from the following comparisons, which show the same development of meaning: Lat. *trūdo* 'thrust, push, crowd,' ChSl. *truditi* 'beschweren, quälen,' Goth. *us-þriutan* 'beschwerlich fallen,' OHG. *bidriozan* 'bedrücken, verdriessen,' OE. *þrēotan* 'wear out, weary,' ON. *þreyta* 'wear and tear, exhaustion,' *þrióta* 'fail, come to an end; want, lack; become a pauper,' *þrot* 'lack, want, destitution,' *þrotna* 'run short, dwindle away, come to an end.'—ON. *þruga* 'drücken,' Gk. *τρίχω* 'rub away, wear out, consume; afflict,' *τρίχωσις* 'exhaustion, distress.'—OE. *ge-þræc* 'pressure, force, violence,' *þrec* 'grievous,' i. e., 'oppressive,' *þrece* 'violence; weariness,' ON. *þrekaðr* 'worn, exhausted.'

We will now begin with Lat. *tero*, arranging the words in the order of their developed meanings. Lat. *tero* 'rub, rub to pieces; rub away, wear away; tread, tread out,' Gk. *τραπέω* 'tread grapes,' OPruss. *trapt* 'treten,' Pol. *trapić* 'quälen,' OE. *þrafian* 'urge; rebuke,' Lith. *trep̃ti* 'stampfen,' *trapūs* 'spröde, bröcklig,' *tīrpti* 'zerfliessen, schmelzen,' Lett. *trepans* 'morsch,' *trepēt* 'verwittern,' MHG. *verderben* 'zu nichte werden, zu Schaden kommen, umkommen,' OHG. *durfan* 'Mangel haben, bedürfen, nötig haben,' Goth. *þarbs* 'bedürftig, nötig,' OE. *þearfa* 'destitute; pauper.' This is exactly like Lat. *trūdo* 'press, thrust,' ChSl. *truditi* 'quälen,' OE. *þrēotan* 'wear out, weary,' ON. *þreyta* 'exhaustion,' *þrióta* 'fail, come to an end; want, lack; become a pauper.'

Starting again from 'press' we have 'compressed, compact, firm, solid, stiff' in one line of development, and 'compressed, compact, robust, thriving' etc., in another, together with various other divergent meanings. Before showing this change of meaning in our base *terep-*, we will examine the same change in other words.

ON. *þrýsta* 'press, squeeze, thrust': *þrýstiligr*

'compact, stout, robust.'—Lat. *trūdo* 'press, push, crowd,' OE. *brēatian* 'urge on, press; afflict,' etc., *brēat* 'crowd, troop; violence, ill-treatment; threat,' primarily in all senses 'crowding, pressing.' From this secondary meaning 'crowd, throng' arose the idea of bigness, large size, whence OE. *brūtian* 'swell with pride or anger; threaten,' *ā-brūten*, ON. *brútenn* 'swollen,' *brútna* 'swell, rise.' Notice also that Lat. *trūdo* is used in the sense of 'push forth, put forth' in reference to growth.—Lith. *trypiù* 'stampfe, trete,' ON. *brifa* 'ergreifen, erfassen,' primarily 'press,' *brifask* 'gedeihen, zunehmen,' i. e., 'become compact, strong,' *brif*, *brift* 'gedeihen,' *brifligr* 'gesund, blühend, aussehend; tüchtig, tapfer.'—Skt. *tanākti* 'zieht zusammen, macht gerinnen,' Av. *taṣmō* 'fest, stark,' Lith. *tānkus* 'dicht,' Goth. *þeiham* 'gedeihen.'—ON. *dapr* 'bedrängt, schwer, düster,' MHG. *tapfer* 'gedrungen, kompakt, voll.'

Similarly from *terep-* 'press, crowd' come Lith. *tarpà* 'Gedeihen, Wachstum,' *tařpti* 'gedeihen, zunehmen,' Skt. *třpyati*, *třpnōti* 'sättigt sich, wird befriedigt,' *tārpanas* 'sättigend, stärkend, labend,' Gk. *τέρω* 'sättige, erfreue,' Goth. *þrafstjan* 'trösten, ermutigen.'

From *terep-* 'press' come the meanings 'compressed, compact, solid, stiff,' etc., in the following: MHG. *derp* 'fest, hart, tüchtig; ungesäuert,' *biderbe* 'tüchtig, bieder,' ON. *þiafr* 'niedrig, gemein; ungesäuert,' þirfinger 'niedrige Person,' OE. *þeorf* 'unleavened,' Lith. *trėptas* 'starkknochig, robust, untersetzt.'

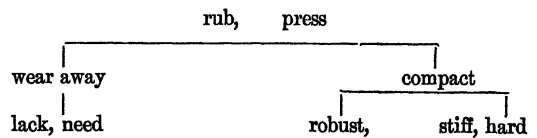
Kluge, *Et. Wb.*, regards 'ungesäuert' as the older meaning and 'stiff, solid, low, mean' as derived from it. That is simply impossible. 'Unleavened' could be expressed positively or negatively. It is negative in Eng. *unleavened* and in NHG. *ungesäuert*, which are both transparent terms. A positive term to express the same idea would be 'hard,' 'solid,' 'heavy,' 'flat,' or the like. Such a meaning we have in Germ. *þerba-* from pre-Germ. *terpō-* 'compressed, compact, stiff.'¹

¹OFries. *derf* 'heftig,' which Kluge connects with *derb*, is another word. Compare OS. *derbi* 'kräftig, feindlich, böse,' OE. *dearf* 'bold,' *gedearf* 'labor, effort; hardship,' *deorfan* 'labor; perish,' ON. *díarfr* 'dreist, keck, kühn,' *dirfa* 'wagen,' Sw. *djärf* 'kühn,' Lith. *dárbas* 'Arbeit,'

With Germ. *þerba-* 'compact, stiff' compare ChSl. *u-trěpěti* 'erstarren,' Lith. *třrpti* 'erstarren, fühllos werden,' Lat. *torpeo*, *torpor*.

These words are more closely connected in meaning with Lith. *tařpti* 'gedeihen' than is Goth. *þaurban* 'bedürfen.' Giving the main lines of development, we may show their relation to each other as follows:

Base *terep-* 'rub, press' in Gk. *τραπέω* 'tread grapes,' OPruss. *trapt* 'treten,' Lith. *trepti* 'stampfen,' figuratively in Pol. *trapió* 'quälen,' OE. *þrafian* 'drängen; schelten.' From this two main lines of divergence: (1) 'wear away, aufreiben, sich aufreiben' in Lith. *trapūs* 'spröde, bröcklig,' *třrpti* 'schmelzen,' Lett. *trepans* 'morsch,' *trepēt* 'verwittern,' MLG. *derven* 'einschrumpfen, vergehen, verderben,' MHG. *verderben*, whence 'lack, want, need' in Goth. *þaurban* 'bedürfen,' OHG. *durfan* 'Mangel haben, bedürfen, nötig haben'; and (2) 'compressed, compact' dividing into (a) 'robust, strong, thriving' in Lith. *tarpà* 'Gedeihen, Wachstum,' *tařpti* 'gedeihen, zunehmen,' etc., and (b) 'stiff, hard' in MHG. *derp* 'fest, hart, tüchtig; ungesäuert,' Lith. *třrpti* 'erstarren, fühllos werden,' Lat. *torpeo*. This may be diagrammed as follows:



Semasiologically, therefore, it is not necessary to assume more than one original base *terep-*; and phonetically there is no difficulty. And yet there may have been several bases *terep-* which arose independently from the original base *tere-* 'rub, press.' For even in Lat. *tero* can be seen the double development that is necessary to connect Goth. *þaurban*: Skt. *třpyati*: Lat. *torpeo*.

FRANCIS A. WOOD.

University of Chicago.

It is quite possible, however, that NHG. *derb* combines a LG. and a HG. *derb*, Germ. *derba-* 'bold, strong' and *þerba-* 'stiff, solid.'